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importance which subconscious action has in the lives of men, and therefore to the paramount importance of recognizing the force of habit in counteracting the effect of political institutions and political reforms, it will have rendered no small service; but it perhaps renders a still greater service by suggesting lines of inquiry of a psycho-physiological character, which no political student who wants to arrive at practical conclusions can afford to disregard.

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EDMOND KELLY.

La Lutte contre le mal. Par J. J. CLAMAGERAU, Sénateur.
Paris, Félix Alcan, 1897. — 310 pp.

French views of social problems, if not always important, are always interesting. The reflections of M. Clamagerau have a degree of importance as an expression of conservative Republican sentiment. If not strikingly original or profound, the senator is at least honest and plain-spoken; and his long and respectable career — approaching, indeed, the heroic, in his opposition to the Second Empire and his trial as one of the “thirteen” in 1864 — lends weight to his words. The burden of this book is a warning against excessive extension of governmental functions, on the one hand, and against unlimited freedom of industrial combination, on the other. Of the three general agencies in the struggle against evil, *viz.*, individual effort, government and voluntary organizations, the last two are treated at length; we thus have here a general ethical discussion of current social problems in France, with particular reference to the proper sphere of governmental control. The work makes no pretension to technical or philosophical completeness, and therefore should not be criticised from the point of view of economic theory. It seems fitting, however, to note certain statements pertinent to the economic policies upon which party lines are to-day drawn in France.

M. Clamagerau finds some of the most important preliminary steps towards socialism in government ownership of railroads, and he deprecates the extension of that policy as a blind surrender to irresponsible labor leaders. He says:

L'administration d'État, dans ces projets, n'est qu'une sorte de trompe-l'œil, derrière lequel se cache l'administration par des syndicats d'employés et d'ouvriers, syndicats obligatoires, intangible, autorisés à faire grève sur l'ordre de leur chefs.

The present agitation in the interest of socialistic extensions of state activity he ascribes in large part to the two great wars of recent

years — the war of secession in the United States and the Franco-German war. The first, he says, resulted, through the establishment of the protective tariff policy, in a system of reprisals against France and England, and in the strict subordination of the planters of the South to the manufacturers and bankers of the North. The Franco-German war, he thinks, was deliberately planned, for the purpose of exalting the state and effacing the individual, by “l’homme d’État prussien qui, par une fausse dépêche, précipitait perfidement l’une contre l’autre l’Allemagne et la France.” This tendency is also strengthened by the extension of the pension system — an extension which, with some reason, he describes as “absolument monstrueuse aux États-Unis,” and very considerable in France. In general, he concludes: “L’intervention du pouvoir social ne peut être efficace et bienfaisante, si l’initiative individuelle est comprimée. . . . Avec des anneaux de plomb, on ne fera jamais une chaîne d’or.”

With respect to labor organizations it is shown that for the protection of the workingmen themselves, as well as of the interests of society generally, the law should be more stringent. The law of 1884 freely permits organization, requiring only that the rules and the names of the officers be recorded with the head of the local government. It is deemed necessary to the preservation of rights that the members be protected against secret decrees of directors and the possible misappropriation of funds. “*L’idéal, c’est l’association libre.*” In the attainment of this ideal, the members of these associations can accomplish much within their organizations by refusing to be led by mere adventurers, and can also contribute greatly to the enactment of wise legislation by insisting that their leaders study the questions before them and act according to sound economic principles. The French “*syndicats*” include, as their most active element, the “*syndicats agricoles.*” These have increased in numbers most rapidly in recent years and are most advanced in the introduction of coöperative measures.

M. Clamagerau shows an appreciative and intelligent comprehension of industrial conditions. His basis of improvement is the conservation of a well-regulated individual liberty. This can be assured only by voluntary social organization, not by the aggrandizement of government:

Nous arrivons à cette conclusion que le pire ennemi de l’association, c’est le socialisme, le socialisme révolutionnaire surtout, mais aussi le socialisme si cher aux docteurs d’outre Rhin, le socialisme d’État.

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